

WORKERS of the WORLD UNITE THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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The Passing Show.

Men and women make society and society condemns them.

In England the hand that "rocks the cradle" is rocking policemen and cabinet ministers. It threatens to rock even the throne.

In "civilized" countries both men and dogs can be "sooled" on to each other by their masters.

The milk of human kindness is being constantly adulterated by Capitalism. That is why Socialism brings Capitalism to the bar of justice.

"Nothing is so international as the slum." Mr. J. D. Fitzgerald. Yes, the cause—the slum landlord—is.

Mr. Watt, Liberal Premier of Victoria, congratulated Mr. Holman, Labor Premier of N.S.W., on his victory. A daily paper item. A kind of Liblab friendship exists between them.

Socialism is neither a dream nor a Utopia. It is a means of securing freedom and opportunity for all.

Now that the summer has come winter clothing will be reduced to the point where the poor can afford to wear it.

A Sydney paper notes the fact that "Chaff is cheaper." But chaff is always fairly cheap, especially political chaff.

Man makes institutions and then denies the right of any one to mend or alter them. But man can destroy what he has made and make new ones.

If a worker robs a shirker it is a crime. If a shirker robs a worker it is good business.

Eugonists advocate segregation of the unfit, and the masters segregate themselves from the workers they have robbed. Which are the unfit?

Capitalism has hitherto loomed large on the social horizon, but Socialism already overshadows it.

The reason that rich and poor, masters and servants, do not see things in the same light is because their material interests control their thoughts.

It is reported that ten thousand churches in the United States were closed last year. Capitalism has destroyed the home and the marriage tie, and is now destroying the Church.

Fruit is plentiful, yet the price remains prohibitive. Why? Because it is grown for sale rather than for use. So long as fruit is grown primarily for sale and only secondarily to eat, just so long will there be children dying for want of fruit in this land of plenty.

The Liberal press of Sydney is predicting untold disasters from the next three years of Labor Government. If the prophets do not err we may expect many new converts to Socialism.

Don't write yourself down as an ass by saying that Socialists believe in dividing up. So many people are readers now that they will smile at your ignorance.

In Parliament the Capitalists fight each other for the spoils, but they unite as soon as the spoils system is attacked.

The hungry cocky will combine with the fat shipper to put the worker down when he strikes. Why? Because both the cocky and the shipper are exploiters of labor.

A memorial has been unveiled at Bloemfontein to the Boer women and children who died in the camps during the war. It will stand as a sad commentary on the inhuman brutality of the British war-mongers who caused the war.

The daily papers are just now teeming with



The Empty Stocking.

appeals for Christmas cheer for the poor. It is like an appeal to a few bandits for succour for an overwhelming number of their victims.

"Is it not much fairer to come out in the open and have a Sunday meeting than to do the same thing with hymns and prayers interspersed to give it a religious tone?"

Senator Rae. Yes, but what is Senator Rae doing to maintain the right to hold Sunday meetings? Men are being gaoled for maintaining this right in Brisbane, but the Labor party takes no action.

A hopeful sign of the recent N.S.W. elections was the way the workers shut their eyes to the doping leaders in the daily papers. They have partly emancipated themselves from press domination and have become much more class-conscious than they used to be. They are, however, still led by small capitalists and landlords in the party.

Mr. Bruntnell, explaining his defeat as a Liberal in the N.S.W. elections, said: "The English immigrant vote went solid for Labor, because it identified the Liberal Party here with the Tory Party at home." This switches the light on partly, but does the immigrant identify the Labor Party here with the Liberal Party in the old country? If he does he has just about sized both parties up.

The Tasmanian Government granted important concessions to an electrical syndicate which was to use the waters of the great lake to generate power. The undertaking was a failure, and the syndicate is now endeavoring to unload the ironmongery on to the Government. The Government favors

the nationalisation of the white elephant, and the workers are pleased with the growth of nationalisation, so the deal is likely to be completed. This is one of the schemes which are sure to be plentiful under the new Capitalism.

Sir George Reid, at a parliamentary function, observed three clerics—a Presbyterian, a Roman, and an Anglican, and said he "thought he might venture to approach St. Peter at the gate" with any one of them, but added: "As a matter of precaution, I would like to take the whole three." The chances are that if the four went up Satan would bag the lot, for it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than it is for three rich, pot-bellied gentlemen to go through St. Peter's gate. Gaiters, chokers, gowns, and court dress would not help them through.

The High Commissioner, Sir George Reid, says that the man who makes up his mind to sail straight in politics, and sets his helm accordingly, "is a fool." The public never knew why he was called "Reid the Wriggler," but it was evidently because of the crooked course he steered amidst the conflicting interests.

"The significant thing in industrial disputes, is that in America and Great Britain especially, the leadership of the workers was passing into the hands of Christian men."—Rev. F. C. Spurr. But have the priests not always led the workers? Is it not owing to their leadership that the Capitalist devil has now got them?

The time for Xmas and New Year's gifts has now arrived. When giving don't forget the "I.S." press fund.

Admiral Fremantle says "the Australian is not a tin-pot navy, but is a force to be reckoned with." So is the armament trust behind it.

Sixty-three members of the clergy of Ireland hold shares in the Dublin Companies that the strikers are fighting. This goes a long way to explain why the clergy hate Larkin and denounce him.

In New York city there are 50,000 women who support their husbands. This amply demonstrates how Capitalism preserves the family.

During the N.S.W. elections thousands of working men cheered those who fine and garnish them. With these people bread and meat should be the great issue, but it seems that it isn't.

The human race still fights for the products of labor although one man can now with the aid of machinery produce enough for many.

The anti-Socialists assert that the Socialist wants everything to be divided up, which is not true. It is, however, true that some of the Antis want everything hoarded up in their own hands.

Socialism means independence— independence from dwarfing drudgery and debasing deprivation. It means independence from want, worry, and wretchedness and rent, interest and profit.

The Liberals recently made an effort to relax the stringent regulations made by the Labor Party under the Conscription Act. In the debate in the Federal Parliament, Senator Pearce was the most bitter opponent of the proposal to modify the punishment of boys by imprisonment.

L. H. Berens, an old Single-Tax identity of South Australia, died recently in London. He wrote "The Story of My Dictatorship," and did a vast amount of propaganda work for the Single Tax party. His little booklet is still a favorite with Single Taxers, and has been translated into several languages.

The press informs us that Premier Holman is going to take the Treasurership in the N.S.W. Government. The Norton Griffiths Co. will have their eye on him and probably will soon grip him and the Treasury.

Since the guns of the British warships were trained upon New Zealand watersiders, several Labor members of Parliament are beginning to squeak against a navy. Senator De Largie is objecting to the Australian Navy. He says he has always been opposed to the establishment of a national fleet.

The London police are said to be forming a union in which every member below the rank of superintendent will be eligible for enrolment. With the police in unions and the army refusing scab or strike-breaking duty the game of the exploiter will be up.

Comrade Bailey, Secretary of Wellington Socialist Party, blew into the office on Wednesday, December 17. He was released by the New Zealand employers' Government under a bond of £600 that he wouldn't open his mouth about the condition of the workers for the next few months. All agitators are being similarly gagged in "Gord's Own Country," so we may soon expect much secret sabotage and propaganda by deeds. Russian methods must lead to Russian effects.

"The cuckoo isn't the only loafer in the bush. I was once camped on the banks of the Three Moon Creek. In the branches of the big gum under which we were sheltered was a peewit's nest. At feeding time I noticed that one of the infants in the nursery was twice as large as the others; and on closer inspection discovered it to be a young storm-bird. As the storm-bird and the peewit are about as much alike as a gridiron and a grindstone, I am puzzled to know why the old 'un did not tumble to the deception and pass the intruder out."—"Oesten" in the "Bulletin." But why marvel at the ignorance of birds. The workers go on year after year feeding capitalist cuckoos without tumbling to the deception or dreaming of passing the intruders out.

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Write on paper not larger than letter-paper, and thin enough to avoid getting us tired for over-weight.

Mark the package "Press Matter Only," and address it "To the Editor."

Write briefly and clearly, as long and un-decipherable articles stand no chance of publication.

Do not send business communications to the Editor, or literary matter to the Manager. To do so only causes confusion and delay.

If your article is not published, do not conclude that it is because it is of no merit, for it may be simply owing to the fact that it is not in accordance with the above rules. Where possible, articles of importance should be type-written.

"That the government cannot put the whole population in prison, and if it could, it would still be without material for an army, and without money for its support, is an almost irrefutable argument. We see here, in passive resistance, not simply in theory, but in practice, at least the beginnings of a sentiment that, if sufficiently developed, makes war impossible to an entire people."

—Kirkpatrick.

The Holidays.

Christmas a Burlesque.

A Social and moral travesty.

By the time this issue reaches our readers the holiday season will have arrived. We would like to wish every reader a happy holiday, but knowing, as we do, that many have no chance of enjoying much of a holiday, it would seem too much like utter futility to wish it. We know that every worker should have a holiday at Christmas time, and if the majority were of our mind they would get it. But the majority are not of our way of thinking, and consequently those who deserve the least enjoy most of the good things of this world, including holidays. Poverty is not in keeping with ordinary commonsense, and it is only because mankind are the slaves of custom and ignorance that it exists. Nature everywhere is abundantly productive, and by working in accordance with natural law inventive man has at last been able to produce ample for each, yet men, women, and children starve and are never able to enjoy a holiday. Why? Simply because the mass of men have neglected to study elementary economics: simply because they have failed to understand how wealth is distributed after it is created.

Productive and transport facilities are constantly being perfected, but the bulk of the wealth produced is allowed to flow into the hands of those who never did a tap towards its production. Steamers, railways, and motor carriages are laden with gay holiday makers who never do anything but holiday-making. They dash hither and thither in search of variety and sensation whilst those who create the wealth upon which they riot in enjoyment go down to premature graves.

It is remarkable if not marvellous that for 2000 years men from Christmas to Christmas have continued to worship one who decried against poverty and wealth, and prophesied "Woe unto the rich," while they have spent their lives in greedily grasping all that came within reach. To the vast majority of his followers the real message of the Prince of Peace has been as effective as if it had never been delivered. Even to the chosen few, to whom it is given to deliver his message, the bishops and preachers, the phrase "Peace and Good Will" has no meaning. They speak of peace while they encourage war and the building of armaments; they laud and defend a system which begets industrial war and precludes the possibility of peace. As an expression of the will of its founder organised Christianity has been a failure. Archbishops and archdeacons go on public platforms to tell the poor of the

Saviour who was poor like themselves, and at their bankers or brokers they have scrip and shares from which they reap what others have sown. Breweries, distilleries, sweatshops, coffin-shops, and armament factories furnish leading churchmen with increasing dividends as Capitalism is developed, and so impudent are they grown that even the Archbishop of Sydney thanks God for Dreadnoughts, while his deans and ministers ask Heaven to bless child conscription.

In every so-called Christian country, Christmas is a burlesque and a social and moral travesty. To the few it is a fine holiday, but to millions it is a mockery and a sham. Therefore, though we have it in our hearts to wish all a pleasant holiday, we know that the wish would be futile. What we can do, however, is to wish that all who do enjoy a brief holiday will not forget those who get none and join us in the coming year in the task of ensuring not only holidays but also justice to all.

GREAT BRITAIN'S POVERTY. ITS CAUSE.

Great Britain's outer security is based upon its wealth, for the richest nation can build the strongest fleet. Her inner security rests upon the contentment of the people. The British people are dissatisfied because they are poor. Therefore 300,000 of our best citizens leave this country every year. The poverty of the nation threatens its peace and security, and is undoubtedly undermining the national character and the national physique. It is therefore the most important task of the Government to increase the prosperity of the nation by combating inefficiency and by recreating the declining industries.

Compared with that task Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, the problem of the House of Lords, the reform of the franchise, and other purely political or, rather, party measures are unimportant. At a moment when the Government should concentrate all its energy and all its thought upon the great economic problems which threaten the very existence of this State and nation it plays at party politics. The statesmen in power are apparently not interested in the poverty of the people.

They repeat unceasingly that Great Britain is the richest country in the world; they ask us to pity the workers in the United States and Germany because the Governments of those countries systematically promote the prosperity and efficiency of the national industries; and they point with pride to the irrelevant figures of our foreign trade, our merchant marine, and our foreign investments. Meanwhile, notwithstanding our expanding foreign trade, Great Britain's economic position in the world is steadily deteriorating. While the British industries advance slowly the United States and Germany are advancing with giant strides.

This country has in the past deliberately sacrificed its agriculture, believing that thus it would remain the workshop of the world. Great Britain is no longer the workshop of the world. At present she occupies only the third place in industrial production, and before long she will occupy the third place in foreign trade as well. That is shown by the official trade returns. By doubling machinery we can double output and double wages.

Great Britain may regain once more its old pre-eminence among nations, but she can do so only when our statesmen begin to understand the economy of high wages, and when they are ready to pursue a national and constructive economic policy free from party bias—when they are ready to pursue a policy which will make not for cheapness and neglect, and for decline and decay, but for efficiency and plenty.—J. Ellis Barker in the "Fortnightly Review."

THE CURSE OF CAPITALISM.

That the downfall of feudalism and the uprise of the capitalist to command of industry and economic power, marked a gigantic stride in the evolution of human society no one will care to deny. Freed from all feudal restraints the productive forces of human society developed by leaps and bounds. The hand tool grew into a machine. Machines gathered together into huge factories, where, driven by huge engines, the productive power of labor was increased perhaps a hundred or a thousand fold. The puny stream of wealth that came forth as a result of the slow and primitive methods of the days of hand tools, became rapidly swollen into a raging torrent under the regime of capital with its power-driven machinery and its army of wage-slaves: a torrent that has poured its flood upon every shore until the markets of the world are chronically deluged with it.

Should proof be required to substantiate the assertions that the power of wealth production is now so great that it can at most be but partially utilized, it is but necessary to call attention to a few facts. Fully six million workmen are at present out of employment on this continent, and this number is scientifically being increased by still further curtailment of production. It is safe to say that fully one-fourth of the total working force is idle. It cannot be employed because the power of production is so

great that those still in employment can keep the market fully supplied with all the goods that can be disposed of. One-fourth of the freight equipment of the railroads of the country is idle. Sixty per cent. of the carrying power of the Great Lakes is tied up at the wharves. This means that a corresponding stagnation exists throughout the field of industry. It is well within the limit of safety to assert that at least one-fourth of the productive power of this continent is now out of commission. Though thousands perish from starvation inconsequence, this power cannot be utilized under the present property regime until our capitalist masters may be assured of getting a profit out of its utilization.

The entire business world is now looking with hungry eyes to the coming harvest. From all reports the wheat crop will be a good one, and every capitalist pirate from the mammoth to the cockroach is licking his chops in sweet anticipation. Just what this presages for the farmer is not difficult to imagine. It is rather humorous to note the unanimity of opinion among the skinning fraternity that the good crop expected this year will bring relief from the present industrial depression, in spite of the fact that this depression came on after the crops have been good each year "since the memory of man runneth not back to the contrary." What wise geezers these mortals be. The forthcoming crop will be swallowed up in the maelstrom of the market and scarcely afford as much as a fleecy bite for the hungry capitalist horde that is lying in wait to pounce down upon it. After the scrimmage is over "Farmer Hayseed" will find himself picked as clean as a chicken made ready for market.

If this bitter experience is to be brought to an end and steps taken to prevent its repetition, the working class must rise to its mission of breaking the rule of capital and turning the productive forces of society to the satisfaction of human needs instead of allowing them to remain fettered to the purpose of production of profit.—Western Clarion.

A DRAMATIC SCENE.

LARKIN DENOUNCES SWEATERS.

There was drama on October 4 at the sixth day of the Board of Trade inquiry into the Dublin labour troubles. At one end of the Privy Council chamber sat three grave-faced and very earnest men, Sir George Askwith, Sir Thomas Ratcliffe Ellis, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P. On their right was a little group of hard-featured employers, in their midst Mr. Tim Healy, and two more of the foremost members of the Irish Bar.

On the other side of the big oval table, among a knot of English and Irish Labour leaders, stood Jim Larkin, pouring raking broadsides of accusations into the ranks of capitalists and lawyers, who now and then quailed before the slashing attack.

The unionists had accepted the conciliatory recommendations, but the employers had rejected them, and for two hours Larkin's great voice boomed through an otherwise almost unbroken silence. Occasionally a half-hearted interruption came from one or other of the exposed employers. Only once did Sir George Askwith intervene. The crowd at the back listened with quiet intensity.

It was a remarkable speech. Mr. Larkin opened with a satirical review of the claims of industrial autocrats, and then he got in a shrewd blow at their inability to put forward their case. "Within an hour of when they first entered this room," he said, "these gallant gentlemen who are so deliberate and so determined in their attitude to the working classes, these capable intelligent organisers who have access to all the channels of information and education, have got to pay hired men to explain their case. They have had to call on the Irish Bar for three of its most brilliant men, and yet those three men have made a most unholy hash of the whole business."

The redoubtable Tim Healy peeped over his glasses, and there was a laugh.

"The employers have made our case," continued Larkin. "They have proved that they cannot carry on industry, that their idea of a bargain is that it should be all on one side. These men hold the means of life: they control our lives. Yet because now we try to get some measure of justice they go out on a campaign such as no other class of employer has ever attempted."

"The lawyers who had been paid to paint the picture were unable to do it. They had the pigments and the craftsmanship, but not the soul. Let me try to paint the true picture of life in the industrial world in Ireland. Take a statement made by their own apologist. Take the statement made by Dr. Cameron, that 21,600 families, averaging four and a half persons, are living in Dublin in single rooms. Will the gentlemen opposite accept the responsibility? Of course they must. If they say they control the means of life, then the responsibility must be theirs. A hundred thousand human beings penned up in the dirty slums of Dublin!"

"The men who are willing to work are denied access to work. The women are not allowed to develop their nature as they have

a God given right to do. The little children are brutally murdered, taken from their mothers' breasts at an early age, and used up like the material for factory fires and furnaces."

"Are these men to be allowed to carry this on any longer? I say it has got to stop, and there are millions of people who are determined that it shall stop. Christ shall no longer be crucified in Dublin by these men."

He threw back with scorn the taunt that he came from Liverpool to put Dublin right. The claim they were making was a great human claim, and not one to be bounded by geographical limitations. Let them go to some of the factories that he knew, where there were poor maimed men and girls with their hands taken off, fingers destroyed, eyes put out, bodies and souls seared. There were the people who, when they were no longer useful, were thrown out on to the human scrap-heap.

Accusation after accusation was hurled at the employers, whose representatives sat at the other side of the table. "They do these things soullessly and consciously," he said, "because their souls are steeped in grime, and built on money and profit making."

"The day of the capitalist, as understood by Mr. Murphy, is rapidly passing away. I have proofs that Mr. Murphy's life has been a continuous struggle against the working-class. In a great many cases he has come out on top. Why? Because he has never been faced by men who were able to deal with him. But now we have aroused a social conscience, and the workmen are determined come weal or come woe, that the present conditions shall be altered."

Then, in a burst of passionate eloquence, came a challenge: "I have followed Mr. Murphy's life. He has been an able man backed up by able men, and he has used his power relentlessly. You can do that up to a certain point, but at some time or other there must come a break. Mr. Murphy says his men get certain wages. I deny that. Across this table I say that if his statement is true I will to-morrow morning order the men to go back to work, and sign any document he may submit. There are not, as he said, 309 men in the tramway service driving cars and getting 31s. per week. The wages there start at 24s. 6d., and only a very limited number ever get as much as 30s. The system in the tramway service is a despotism such as no other company would allow to go on for an hour."

He went on to say that Mr. Murphy paid carpenters 5s. below the standard, motor drivers 10s. below, and conductors 5s. below the standard as recognised in Great Britain. The conditions in Belfast were nearly 20 per cent. better.

Then as he passed along his voice rose and his arm stretched out to the figure opposite him. "There is no intimidation in Ireland to-day, eh?" He swung round and picked up a paper-wrapped parcel from a chair. "Mr. Murphy speaks about the rights of individuals. No intimidation, he says. Every man in one particular company in Dublin was supplied with one of these," and from the parcel he drew a large heavy truncheon. "Every man was told, 'Sign that document and here is a weapon for you.' Look at it, sir," he added, as he tossed the truncheon on the table before Sir George Askwith. "These are the men who are talking of intimidation by Labour leaders."

"There is another firm in this city, a Belfast firm. Two girls, the daughters of a poor man who was lying ill, worked for them. They worked 12 days on skilled work, and then were paid 10d. each. There were no fines or deductions. The total pay was 10d."

He mentioned the name of Mr. Eason, another employer who was present. "If he will only give his competent clerks 20 per cent. less than London rates," he added, "I will be perfectly satisfied. I have known competent clerks there for 11s. a week."

"Give us a touch about Carson," sneered Mr. Healy shortly afterwards.

"I am quite content to leave Carson to Mr. Healy," rejoined Mr. Larkin. "It would be better for Ireland if the Healy and the Carsons were sent to another country."

Then he got back to his story. "I state definitely," he said, "that Mr. Jacob has got the worst sweating den within the four corners of Great Britain. I am prepared to prove that the wages paid to his women starting in 1910, when I first had some reason to say a word or two about the firm, were 2s. 6d."

Coming down to the present, Mr. Larkin said: "He admits he is paying some of the women 4s. a week. His wages are the lowest in any country. At the factory is what they call a pig trough. Men and women go in to the bath on alternate days, and the water is changed once a week. There is a resting room. What is that? It is where the girls are taken when they are overdone with their work. Their inanimate bodies are carried there. They lie upon a bed till they recover and then they are dragged back to the machine or the oven."

Later he quoted Shaw. "If we had a few more Shaws," he said, "and less Healys it would be better for Ireland."

He vigorously defended the character of the Irish transport workers. "If you want to drive them over the precipice remember what the outcome will be," he said, as a

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A Young Militant.



"The Compliments of the Season,"
Yours for Socialism,
Ernie Langdon.

Marxian Economics.

A Short Exposition.

By H. J. CRUICKSHANK.

The Problem.

The problem which is to be solved is that when capital is productively used there accumulates to the owner of this capital a sum greater than that thrown into the process. Over and above all values entering issues a surplus if the capital has been managed with average efficiency and under normal conditions. A precession of the principal explanations from Turgot to Bohm Bawerk—of this central problem of political economy would be both entertaining and informative, but as time at present preclude any such undertaking I must depend upon a positive exposition of the Marxian theory—to which I hold—and rely upon its invulnerability to refute all theories conflicting therewith.

Political Economy.

Political economy is the science which treats of the laws of the production and distribution of wealth in definite historical societies. All modes of production have this in common—the preconceived activity of man upon nature which activity is effected through the instrumentality of tools, but it is apparent that modes of production are radically dissimilar in different lands at the same time, and also in the same land at different epochs. Different distinctions arise in different conditions necessitating differentiated consideration. The fear that population would outgrow the means of subsistence was general amongst the economists at the beginning of the 19th century. Whatever credence might have been given to their doctrine owing to improper transport facilities, application of machinery to land, manuring and crop rotation which have since eventuated, it has lost its plausibility and a reconsideration has led to an almost universal reversal of this foreboding doctrine. Hence political economy is an historical science. It is true that some capital has existed in some form for many centuries, but it was not till the advent of the capitalist system that is assumed its present ubiquitous predominant form. Now is the importance of our problem recognised.

The Commodity.

The typical product of capitalism is unmistakably the commodity. Under previous systems goods were produced for consumption and exchange existed only as an ex-

ception working its unpretentious effects on the meanly residue which was thrown on the market after needs had been supplied, generally to be traded for luxuries. The markets were circumscribed and society then consisted chiefly of loose almost independent associations whose points of contact were few and feeble. Different is the situation to-day. The almost exclusive community has yielded to a world-wide community so intimately dependent part upon part that perturbations affect with almost original vigour, the whole alike production is now carried on for exchange, and the world is the market. Division of labour is not confined to the workshop, the town nor the nation, but an international division of labour has arisen and often the indigenous products of one land are the raw materials upon which the peoples on the opposite side of the globe work. When completed the commodities find consumers in all parts of the world. Production for exchange now predominates. This product into which the labour of the world enters and which is produced for exchange and sale for profit is the commodity. It is the characteristic product of capitalism. To understand it—its production, its value, its sale, is to solve the problem.

Value.

Prior to the advent of Marx, some economists had not erred in attributing to a commodity a use value and an exchange value—value in use and value in exchange. Use value refers to the employment to which an individual can put a commodity. Use value is connected with the material body of the commodity—its size, shape, colour, etc., which has been impressed upon it either by nature or the useful side of labour. Use value is realised by use or consumption. Use value is not a social value of universal application. It is not adapted to measurement, nor does it express those social relations which follow in the wake of our complex social system. It is an individual value differing in degree with the many tastes, and desires of the innumerable individuals involved in society. In discarding use value we put out of sight its qualitative aspect and there remains nothing but common human labour, which measures the exchange values of commodities. It is not my intention to enumerate all the attributes and limitations which this labour demands in measuring value. Only the most important will here be mentioned and these too require to their full understanding a comprehension of the capitalist system in its entirety. Assuredly the values of commodities do not vary directly as the quantity of labour contracted in them. A commodity manufactured by obsolete methods implying the absorption of more labour than one produced by modern methods is manifestly of no more value than one produced by up-to-date methods and implying the absorption of a lesser quantity. The labour which determines the value is only that which is socially necessary. If more labour than this be embodied in a commodity then the excess from a social viewpoint creates no value even though it may have cost much human effort. Unskilled labour is the indispensable of capitalism, and in its progress this class of labour becomes increasingly more general and necessary. One is now a mere attendant upon a machine or the performer of some simple operation calling for no special aptitudes. Products, the quantity of which can be increased by the industry of man, contain in the main, unskilled labour, and this serves as the standard in capitalist society. Skilled labour is more productive than unskilled, and has a twofold origin. It may be an hereditary trait, or acquired by practice. Skilled labour is of necessity confined to the minority, but there is no difference between it and unskilled labour as prevents it being present in sufficient quantities. Also, there is no qualitative difference which is of serious import. Machine production, the material foundation of capitalism, has forced upon the consumers "standardised commodities" which are not the product of handicraft expressing the freely given skill of its craftsman, but the outcome of uniform, standardised machine production. "As regards the mass of civilised mankind the idiosyncrasies of the individual consumers are required to conform to the uniform gradations imposed upon consumable goods by the comprehensive mechanical process of industry." (Prof. Veblen). Skilled labour is thus reduced in importance, and it could well be left alone at this point, but to push on and complete the argument. Skilled labour presenting no qualitative difference, can most conveniently be considered as a complex of unskilled labour, and as the latter is the standard by which commodities are valued, the former is reducible to a greater quantity of unskilled labour. The value, and this term is used as identical with exchange value, is named in the quantity of socially necessary, simple (or unskilled) labor which is required to produce it, or a similar commodity. There is but one way in which labour can be measured, and that is by the time of its duration.

Freedom.

The various bonds of personal dependence which characterised previous historical productive systems and which tied the work-

er to a master or lord, have been abolished. This has often been mistaken for the attainment of freedom. Personal dependence has been replaced by a subtle economic coercion, arising from the divorcement of the labourer from his means of production. No legal enactment is necessary. Food, clothing and shelter must be obtained. The worker can only obtain these by working for a capitalist, who owns the means of life, and receiving wages which enable him to purchase these necessities of life. By virtue of this the capitalist finds a sufficient supply of labour eager to be employed. The two meet, one possessing means of production, and money, and the other nothing but his power to labour. A purchase and sale ensues. What is it that is sold by the labourer?

Labour and Labour Power.

A superficial examination would lead one to conclude that that which the labourer sells to the capitalist is labour. Such is not the case. The labourer sells his labour power, not his labour. The former exists potentially in every human being. As labour power it exists only as a probability, but its action constitutes labour. Labour does not exist until the potentialities of the labourer are awakened into actuality. The exercise of labour power (or labour) is not possible without the labourer having access to the productive means. When this stage is reached, the worker has already disposed of his commodity. It is no invalidation to urge that as payment is not made till some time had elapsed, it could still be labour that is sold. The act of sale and purchase are concluded before the process begins, but the labourer does not receive payment till after the elapsement of time. During that period the capitalist receives credit, at the hands of the labourer. It is the labour power that is sold, its price being fixed by contract beforehand, and not realised later, as is similarly done with rent. Labour being the expression of labour power, and the creation of value cannot have value of itself any more than gravity can have weight. It, however, serves as a measure of value finding its magnitude in the duration of its expenditure.

(To be continued.)

DOOLEY ON BANKERS.

"Bankin' is a strange business anny how. I build a brick house, put iron grating on th' window, an' ye an' Donohue fight each other to see who'll get his money first to me.

"I accept it very reluctantly an' as a great favour to ye. Says I, 'Himmissy and Donohue,' says I, 'ye ar-re rayspictable wurrukin' men an' I will keep ye er money fr' ye rather than see ye spind it in richious livin',' says I.

"As a gr-reat favour to ye I will take care of these lithographs, be lendin' thim to me friend," says I. 'If ye want the money back ye can have it anny time between nine in th' mornin' an' three in th' afternoon, except Sundays and holidays,' says I, 'but don't both come at wast,' says I, 'or nayther iv ye'll get it,' says I.

"Ye slape better at nights because ye feel that ye're money is wher no wan can reach it except over me dead body.

"If ye on'y knew ye've not turned ye'er back before I've chased those hard-earned dollars off the premises. With ye'er money I build a house and rent it to ye. I start a railroad with it an' ye wurruk on the railroad at two dollars a day.

"Ye'er money makes me a prominent citizen. Th' newspapers intherview me on what shud be done with th' toilin' masses, manin' ye an' Donohue. I construct the foreign policy iv th' government; I tell ye how ye shud vote. Ye've got to vote th' way I say or I won't give ye back ye'er money.

"An' all this time ye think I've that little bundle of pitchers nestlin' in the safe in my brick house, with me settin' at the door with a shot gun across me knees."

BEAUTIES OF CAPITALISM.

Meditation of a Doctor—What a cursed season! Nobody sick! Not even a dog has a cold!

A Druggist—Everybody's in good health in this beastly town!

A Gravedigger—If we could only have a little cholera, I could give my daughter a dowry.

A Military Man—Twenty years of peace! It's the ruin of my career!

A Judge—If it weren't for the criminals, what should we do?

A Merchant—If I succeed in driving my neighbour into bankruptcy, I'll get all his trade!

A Farmer—such a calamity! The country has produced so much that the market is glutted. Blessed be the years of small crops.

A Lawyer—Oh, such a stupid town! Nobody wants to prosecute anybody else,

A Policeman—If it weren't for the robbers, I should have to steal for a living.

—New York "Call."

Employers in Labor Party

Reply to Champions of the Employers.

An open letter to the trade unionists of Australia, per the "International Socialist," and 150 World's Union, Labour and Socialist papers.

Dear Fellow Unionists,—

"Accepting help from employers to establish unionism" is very different from allowing them in the union, or worse—to take office in the union, or worst—electing them to champion wage-earners on a continuous strike-conference with their fellow-employers—Parliament—which decides the very existence of unions, their innumerable limitations, and which administers, etc. Better have them in the union than in Parliament as our representatives; let employers elect their own proportion of members, councillors, magistrates, etc.

Employers "helping to establish unionism" do not, if genuine, withdraw assistance, or their vote, because they are not admitted into a union. On the contrary, they can co-operate more heartily with a union sensible enough to exclude humans (not angels) from positions where their "interests" are in such direct conflict with their "promises" and duties. When an employer opposes because he is not admitted we are well rid of his pretence of support.

The unions of Australia were forced by the '90 maritime strike to sink their differences as to craft, or even industrial group, and to function wholesale (industrially, mind) in the parliamentary arena. They deliberately and painstakingly evolved the existing State Labour parties, since federated for that purpose—the

One Big Union

which all wage-earners, unionists in sympathy nearly every one (listening Packer?) could join or vote with. Retail industrial action was continued as before, with gradually closer consolidation as to grouping of unions.

Far from "wanting to split up the Labor party," as it is put, we desire to safeguard against the certain division at the critical moment when the party is numerically in a position to win a really substantial victory over the employers, such as the capture of their maxim-gun of starvation by the institution of a destitute allowance (invalid pension). If such purification of the party as we propose be much longer deferred a "split" must surely arise. The party is the better for the split between "liquids" and "solids" in New South Wales in '93. A few pledged gained more than "unpledged"—the Joe Cook ilk! And all the other States promptly followed suit; pledged.

Re wage-earners becoming disclassed in Parliament; we are not green enough to suppose that a purely wage-earner party won't want the most vigilant watching and the occasional expulsion of "rats"?

We do not attack individual employers nor their honour, but their power, not being super-human, to enthusiastically oppose their own, and family's immediate interests, in an environment so very dominating that it is their stock excuse for becoming employers.

If we want a merely Radical or merely Socialist party let us call it so. If we want a class party, enthusiastic, because there is (not ought to be) a class war, we must not "monkey with the contract."

The conflict is "capital versus labour"—employers v. wage-earners—labour-buyers v. labour-sellers—desires v. detesters of unemployment.

We have always been met with numerous challenges to draw a dividing line; the following is the result of a plebiscite within a "wage-earner group of Victorian P.L.C. members" two years ago (conferences can modify it and as desired):—

"Wage-earner, a seller of labour, one whose income is at least three-fourths" (investment of moderate savings excused) "derived from manual of mental services, or from self, or co-operative employment, and who has given no evidence of intention" (not vague hopes) "to employ others unless in harvesting" (urgent co-operative share not calculable) "or home help" (expenditure of decent salaries) "under union-certificated conditions, and is not disclassified by social circle" (fraternising nearly entirely with buyers of labour). "Central executive arbiter if called upon." Reader, don't wait for the "other fellow." "Move" yourself.—Yours fraternally,

H. E. LANGRIDGE.

27 Drummond-street, Carlton, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, 15/12/13.

IT COULDN'T BE DONE.

Somebody said that it couldn't be done. But he with a chuckle replied: "That 'maybe it couldn't,' but he would be one who wouldn't say so till he'd tried. Somebody scoffed: 'Oh, you'll never do that—At least no one ever has done it; But he took off his coat and he took off his hat. And the first thing we knew he'd begun it. With a lift of his chin and a bit of a grin. Without any doubting or quiddit. He started to sing as he tackled the thing That couldn't be done—and he did it. EDGAR A. GUEST.

THE SUBSTITUTE LIFE.

The cost of meat went soaring up
To figures past belief,
Till Jones upon his table had
A substitute for beef.

The price of clothes went kiting up
His purse was far from full,
And so Jones wore upon his back
A substitute for wool.

The cost of land and rent went up
Wherever he might roam,
Till Jones could only live within
A substitute for home.

At last poor Jones himself went up
And fared exceeding well;
"Come in," St. Peter said, "you've had
Your substitute for hell!"
—New York Sun.

THE PROFITEERS.

And for them many a weary hand had swelt
In torched mines and noisy factories,
And many once proud-quivered loins did melt
In blood from stinging whip: with hollow
eyes
Many all day in drizzling stood
To take the rich-ored drifting of the flood.
For them the Ceylon diver held his breathe,
And went all naked to the hungry shark;
For them his cats gushed blood; for them, in
death,
The seal on the cold ice, with piteous bark,
Lay full of darts, for them alone did seethe.
A thousand men in troubles wide and dark;
Half ignorant they turned an easy wheel
That set sharp racks at work to inch and
peel.

—KEATS.

A DISTRESSING PROBLEM.

"The Most Distressing of Problems" is
how the "New York Sun" describes the
white slave investigation in Chicago, in con-
nection with low wages paid in department
stores and mail order houses.

The distress is occasioned by the fact that
the old explanation of prostitution not being
connected with or in any way caused by
poverty, no longer convinces, and the em-
ployer who testifies that low wages and pro-
stitution have no necessary relation, is coming
to be regarded as a shuffler, an equivoca-
tor and a liar. The general result is to
lead to the conclusion that the wage system
itself is a vicious institution that produces
vicious results. And that conclusion, in
turn, necessarily leads to the perception that
the wage system itself may become the ob-
ject of attack. Hence the distressful out-
look.

The Chicago employers who were examined
out a rather despicable figure on the whole.
Only one of them had the brazen effrontery
to declare that low wages and prostitution
had no necessary relation to each other, while
at the same time he tried to leave the im-
pression that he was paying a living wage.
The others hedged and trimmed and dodged
as best they might. They would not say
definitely. While low wages might have
something to do with the question, it was
their opinion that a girl who got 12 dollars
or 10 dollars a week was about as likely to go
wrong as one who was paid 8 dollars or 6
dollars. It depended upon "individual
character and home environment," wages
presumably having nothing to do with either.
They, too, however, tried to leave the im-
pression that they were also careful to pay
a living wage.

And all this dodging and squirming to
avoid the establishment of a proposed mini-
mum wage law, which, if they were really
paying a living wage, they would apparently
have no reason to oppose.

The conclusion they desire the public to
arrive at is that women deliberately and
freely choose prostitution and that economic
necessity has little or nothing to do with the
matter, only they are not bold enough to
say so in so many words. But that is what
it amounts to, as witness the universal and
absolute repudiation of their position by the
various women's leagues and other reform
societies and their firm insistence upon
"economic independence" for women as the
first step in the abolition of prostitution.

It is, no doubt, a most "distressing" pro-
blem, but the distress of these Chicago vam-
pires is occasioned much more by a threat-
ened decrease in profits than by an increase
in prostitution. The accumulation of their
fortunes was only made possible by starva-
tion wages, and the degradation and destruc-
tion of innumerable women and girls was
its natural complement. They are forced
into the unlucky position of having to assume
responsibility for and defend the wage sys-
tem, over which they have no real control,
but dare not admit the fact. And they are
not believed any longer. They have to at-
tempt the impossible task of convincing the
public that it is quite possible to defend the
wage system and disavow all responsibility
for its effects, and, as might be expected,
they have failed.—New York Call.

Thus while the avowed creed of the en-
lightened minority is constantly changing
under the influence of reflection and inquiry,
the real, though unavowed, creed of the
mass of mankind appears to be almost sta-
tionary, and the reason why it alters so little
is that, in the majority of men, whether they
are savages or outwardly civilised beings, in-
tellectual progress is so slow as to be hardly
perceptible.—Prof. J. G. Frazer, "Scope of
Social Anthropology."

ECONOMY AND THRIFT.

Once there was a poor but conscientious
man. While seeking a job in a well regu-
lated and luxuriously appointed establish-
ment he saw hanging on the wall a motto
which said: "Economy is wealth." It
seemed very sensible to him and he pon-
dered upon it.

To be sure, he had never been extrava-
gant, as he owned no automobiles, kept no
servants, had never been to Florida or
Europe for his health, and was unacquaint-
ed with champagne and brandy and soda.

However, he was not a total abstainer.
He had been known to spend nickels for
beer, and once he spent a whole day's
wages at a single labour picnic. As he re-
flected upon these petty vices he realised
the force of the motto and resolved to eco-
nomise.

By dint of unscrupulous retrenchment, he
found that he could reduce his cost of liv-
ing from a dollar and ninety-eight cents a
day to a dollar and eighty-seven and a half
cents.

He was highly pleased with himself, and
one day, in a burst of enthusiasm over his
success at economy, he told the tale to his
boss.

At first the boss congratulated him, but
when he found that the man had been eco-
nomising for a whole year he became very
angry because he had not been told of it
sooner. "You are an enemy to society,"
said the boss. "Here am I struggling day
by day to send my daughters to a French
finishing school. I have been giving you
employment and paying what I thought
was necessary for you to live, and now I
find that you cheated me by economising
and not telling me of it. For, of course,
if you can live more cheaply, you will not
object to a reduction in wages."

The poor man made no complaint lest he
lose his job, but one night, at the risk of
being arrested for burglary, he broke into
his boss' office and corrected the motto to
read: "Economy for the employee is wealth
for the employer."—Ellis O. Jones.

ACID DROPS.

(By J.W.R.)

The worker who refuses to think is a
mental corpse, and the sooner he is buried
the better it will be for those who do think.

Ignorance, superstition, and economic
slavery, have always gone hand in hand—a
trinity of furies who have preyed upon man-
kind.

The barbarous methods adopted by
capitalist governments to suppress striking
workers, would lead one to imagine that
we are living in the twentieth century be-
fore Christ, instead of the twentieth cen-
tury after.

Holman and Wade are tussling hard for
the tarts in the Macquarie-street tart-shop,
but which ever one gets them the workers
will have the privilege of looking on, they
won't even get the crumbs.

The Socialist is despised to-day, but he
will be honoured in the future. The heroes
of the future are the hated of to-day.

HOPES AND HAPPINESS.

To destroy a groundless hope is not to
destroy a man's happiness. The instantane-
ous effort may be painful; but it is the price
which we have to pay for a cure of deep-
seated complaints. The infidel's reply is
substantially this: "I may destroy your
hopes; but I do not destroy your power of
hoping. I bid you no longer fix your mind
on a chimera, but on tangible and realisable
prospects. I warn you that efforts to soar
above the atmosphere can only lead to disap-
pointment, and that time spent in squaring
the circle is simply time spent. Apply your
strength and your intellect on matters which
lie at hand, and on problems which admit
of solution. The happiest man is not the
man whose aspirations are best fitted to
man whose aspirations are best fitted to
guide his talents: the most efficient worker
is not the one who mistakes his own fancies
for an external support, but he who has
most accurately gauged the conditions un-
der which he is laboring."—Leslie Stephen,
"Essays on Freethinking and Plain Speak-
ing," p. 356.

Let us praise the pioneers of progress—the
thinkers, the discoverers, the propagandists
—whose only weapon was the living word.
"In the beginning was the Word, and the
Word was God." We subscribe to that
text. The living word passes from man to
man, from city to city, from nation to na-
tion, from generation to generation: and as
it passes it cries, "Behold I make all things
new." Without armies, battlefields, or
bloodshed, the Word which is God achieves
its conquests. The youthful Tennyson well
sang that Wisdom was wrought in the same
way:—

"No sword
Of wrath her right arm whirl'd,
But one poor poet's scroll, and with his word
She shook the world."
—G. W. FOOTE.

A.S.P. News & Notes.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Objective.—The social ownership with Demo-
cratic control of the means of Production,
Distribution and Exchange.
General Secretary: J. W. ROCHE.
Headquarters: 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The Ad. Council will meet on Dec. 27 all
branches are urged to send delegates.

J. W. ROCHE,
General Secretary,
115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

SYDNEY.

The Branch held several successful meet-
ings during the past week. On Sunday,
Comrades Sims, Roche, and Jones spoke in
the Domain, and in the evening, Comrade
Roche spoke in Market Street, and Riley
and Jones in Park Street.

A Special Meeting of the Branch will be
held at Queen's Hall, on Tuesday, Dec. 30.
Officers of the Branch are to be elected,
Standing Orders to be framed, and several
other matters of importance to be dealt with.
All those who take an interest in the Branch
should turn up.

H. CHRISTOPHERSON, Secretary.

BRISBANE.

The free speech fight in Brisbane is prov-
ing to be one of the most interesting com-
bats of this nature ever fought in Aus-
tralia's history.

The actions of the Parliamentary Labour
party and the craft union officials must be
recorded for future reference. If in future
years anyone should visit Brisbane and be
unable to obtain copies of the "International
Socialist" at the public reading rooms, or
at the party hall, I should advise them to
make application to the Commissioner of
Police for a loan of his file. Somewhere
within the precincts of the dark, dusty
dungeon holes of the Commissioner's de-
partment three copies of the paper are de-
posited every week. Each Friday a "John
Hop" parts with 3d., and one of our com-
rades parts with three papers. Every Mon-
day the sub-inspector comes to the court
armed with an "International Socialist,"
and a police magistrate tells us of the ter-
rible things that appear therein. Truly the
little paper is doing good work. We may
have a policeman, or an orderly, a sergeant,
or only an acting one, a sub-inspector or an
inspector, or perhaps the Commissioner him-
self going out upon the streets and talking
without his own permission or worse horror
still, if the magistrate keeps on reading the
paper they may go out without the Com-
missioner's permission and try themselves
for speaking without a permit.

The politicians are silent and the press
is adopting a similar attitude. Wherever
conditions compel our slimy Labour politi-
cians to say anything at all, it is in con-
demnation of the Socialist. Last year Bris-
bane was in the throes of a general strike.
The police were armed to protect (2—pri-
vate) property. Free speech was denied by
proclamation. The workers were horrified.
To-day, when Socialists go to gaol to win
this right, they are submissive, docile, curi-
osity-mongers. The politicians have dop-
ed them. The craft union officials have al-
ways spoken bitterly and contemptuously
about the men who have gone to gaol.

Last Sunday, December 14th, Comrade
A. E. Brown became "possessed," and
climbed on to a window-sill in Edward-
street and proceeded to address the crowd.
He had not continued for long, however,
when two policemen arrested him and con-
veyed him to the watchhouse, where he was
charged with the usual offence. On Mon-
day he was remanded till Wednesday, and
in concluding put the class position very
forcibly and well. Magistrate Moore ex-
pressed his admiration of our comrade's
ability and voiced his sympathy. This was
shown in a more practical form a few min-
utes later by fining him £6, in default six
weeks' imprisonment. Our loss will be the
gain of the branch at Boggio Road.—Yours
for revolt,

BOGGO BROWN.

CHRISTMAS TREE AND DANCE.

The International Socialist Club will give
a dance and Christmas Tree at Leigh-house,
Castlereagh street, Sydney, on Boxing
Day, December 26th. Tickets 1/6 single
and 2/6 double. Children free. Free toys
for the children.

Tickets and all particulars obtainable
from the Club Secretary, who will also be
pleased to receive donations towards the chil-
dren's toys.

No tickets will be sold at the doors.

O. BLANC, Secretary.

274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

Push "The International Socialist." Get
subscribers.

WILLIAM MUG.

We have pleasure in announcing that
early in the New Year Zil's famous "Ad-
ventures of William Mug" will be recom-
menced. Do not miss the series.

The "International Socialist" depends en-
tirely upon those who have the will and de-
sire to serve the movement. With their aid,
its power for future good is beyond com-
putation; without it, its publication must
soon cease and its mission fail. That being
so, all who desire to aid the movement
should help the "International" in any way
they can. Everyone who sends in subs., or
donations to the maintenance fund helps the
paper's circulation while it does battle
against the enemies of the workers. The
most unassuming and modest comrade can
help to overthrow capitalism and hasten the
day when the exploitation of the worker by
parasitic profit-mongers shall be no more.

PRESS AND MAINTENANCE FUND.

Already Acknowledged, £76 1s. 7d.] —
"Well-wisher," Gladstone, Q., 2s. 6d.;
U. Schaefer, Turross, 2s. Total, £76 6s. 1d.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUND.

Amount already acknowledged £16 5s. 5d.
F. E. S. H. Hewison, 1s. Total £16 6s. 5d.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Woman and the Social Problem (May W. Simons) 1d
The Growth of Socialism (Debs) 1d
From Revolution to Revolution (Herron) 1d
Revolutionary Unionism (Debs) 1d
Wage, Labor and Capital (Marx) 1d
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Why I Am a Socialist (Herron) 1d
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